From the Battlegrounds of Canada to the Red River Colony: Poles in the Regiment De Watteville and Regiment De Meuron during the War of 1812

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Uniform of Captain Jean Ployart, De Watteville Regiment. More than 500 Poles served in this regiment during the War of 1812. The uniform is on display at Fort George, Niagara-on-the-Lake (Christoff’s Gallery took all the photographs in this article)
Introduction

This project started from the premise that any good war that came after the elimination of Poland from the map of Europe in 1795 had to include some Poles. Since that time there have been no major wars that have not included Poles fighting for freedom. In 1794 after the defeat of the Kościusko uprising many Polish patriots went forth following the slogan that took them all the way to the Battle of Monte Cassino in 1944 “to fight for our freedom and yours.”¹ I was not disappointed when I applied this assumption to the War of 1812 in North America. A substantial number of Poles took part.

Most of the written history on the War of 1812 was and is done from two perspectives – the British/Canadian and the American. Very little of the written history reflects the perspective of the Native peoples who were major participants in the war, the Black participants and the Coloured Corps and the numerous Europeans who also fought in the conflict. This paper can be said to bring a Slavic perspective to the War of 1812, but it also brings in other marginalized warriors in curious ways.

Poles and other groups, such as Native Peoples and Blacks, do not fit into the grand narrative of the War of 1812 therefore their role has been subordinated and marginalized; this essay is a form of resistance to this forgetful grand narrative and an attempt to balance the historical scales. As Michel Houellebecq in his novel Platform writes “I couldn’t help thinking that if the prisoners had been Polish or Russian there would have been a lot less fuss.”² Why is it if the warriors were Polish, Black or Native that it seems to matter less? This paper is a small effort to make it matter.

As a Canadian of Polish descent the forgotten Polish ghosts of the historical past haunt me; this will bring those ghosts into the light of day and relieve them of their need to haunt. I want to be able to walk to the battlefield at Fort Erie without wondering why the over 500 Poles who fought here have been forgotten. Why does it not seem to matter to anyone, not even other Canadians of Polish descent?

It must be remembered that all established history can never be justified by the claim that this is the way that such things ‘really were’. There is always room to challenge the established consensus. Historians can’t simply tell us how things were, or how they are, because all meaning is socially encoded and mediate how we see things; history borrows from contemporary social conventions. Let us not forget the role of Poles in the War of 1812 through the lenses of contemporary conventions. Welcome to a new look at the War of 1812.

The Family Globensky

The Family Globensky is a good place to start as they are the first family of Polish descent to have firmly established themselves in Canada. Not only that they played a major role right from
their arrival in Quebec, played a role in the War of 1812, and are still a family that is active in Canadian affairs.

Auguste France Globensky (1754-1830) was born in Berlin of Polish ancestry. He was a surgeon who served with Hesse-Hanau Regiment and settled in Lower Canada after his detachment fought on the side of the British in the American War of Independence. He arrived in Canada in 1776. He practised medicine at St. Eustache. He married Françoise Brousseau in 1784 and had five daughters and six sons. He died in 1830 in St. Eustache.

Lieutenant Frederick Eugene Globensky (1790-?), the oldest son of Auguste France Globensky was born in Verchéres, Quebec in 1790. He enlisted as an ensign in the 3rd Battalion of Militia and became an officer in the 2nd Battalion Select Embodied Militia of the County of Deux Monatanges (Lower Canadian Militia). The Embodied Militia took part in the Battle of Châteauguay, Oct 26, 1813 and Plattsburg, July 13, 1813.

Lieutenant-Colonel Maximilien (Maxime) Globensky (April 15, 1793- June 16, 1866) fought for the British in the War of 1812 and for the loyalists in the Rebellion of 1837. He joined the Voltigeurs Canadiens in 1812 (Provincial Corps of Light Infantry) under Lieutenant-Colonel Michael de Salaberry. He took part in the battles of Ormstown, Lacolle and Châteauguay (October 26, 1813). He was awarded two medals for bravery on the recommendation of Lieutenant-Colonel de Salaberry. He was also chosen to be part of the team with Major-General Wade Hampton (commander of the American army on Lake Champlain, 1813) to present British demands.

Globensky was married twice: first to Élisabeth Lemaire Saint-Germain and then to Marie-Anne Panet in 1851. He died in Saint-Eustache, Canada East at the age of 73.

Lt. Maximilien Globensky, Canadian Voltigeurs, c. 1812. Portrait by J.-B. Roy-Audy

Maximilien Globensky and the Rebellions of 1837
When the rebellion broke out, Globensky was asked by his superiors to recruit 60 volunteers, and was then given command of the group. As a Captain, he commanded the St. Eustache Loyal Volunteers at the Battle of St. Eustache (Lower Canada Rebellion) against the Patriotes on December 14, 1837.

For his services to Canada he was granted a pension for life.

Another Pole, Dominik Barcz came to Canada from Gdansk in 1752 and is known to have signed a marriage contract in Montreal. His grandson Pierre Dominique DeBartsch was a commander of a company which distinguished itself in the battle of Châteauguay.
De Meuron and De Watteville Regiments

According to the Manitoba Historical Society, there “were about a dozen [Polish] soldiers, who arrived at Red River with Lord Selkirk in 1817.” How did they happen to come from Poland to the Red River?\(^7\)

The presence of Poles in the De Meuron and De Watteville Regiments was first discovered by Mieczysław Haiman, a well-known Polish-American historian, who also explained the reasons for which these Poles entered the British service.\(^8\)

According to Haiman’s research, these Polish soldiers were volunteers who crossed the borders of the states which had just partitioned Poland (Austria, Germany and Russia) and went to France, or into other countries occupied by French armies, with the notion of serving in the ranks of these armies under the leadership of Napoleon. Other Poles found themselves in the service of Napoleon as prisoners taken by the French from the Austrian, Russian and Prussian armies in the course of the campaigns conducted in Europe by revolutionary France; or as refugees escaping from these armies - men who had been forcibly recruited to the coalition armies fighting Napoleon, and who took advantage of the possibility of flight to join those Poles who, with faith in the motto "For our freedom and yours!", followed the eagles of the great French leader. These soldiers hoped one day to return to Poland under Napoleon’s banners and believed that Poland would be restored by the triumphant Emperor.\(^9\) As W.S. Kuniczak so eloquently put it, “For early nineteenth-century Poles there was only one justification for the agony of living: to fight again and again for Polish independence … America was another world, a distant continent.”\(^10\)

The wars which the young French republic conducted against coalitions of the reactionary powers at the end of the eighteenth century were contemporaneous with the partitions of Poland, which by 1795 had resulted in Poland being wiped from the map of Europe. A large part of the Polish nation linked the fate of its country with the defeat of the three despotic powers that had portioned Poland. The appearance of a military genius such as Bonaparte was welcomed by patriotic Poles as a promise of the final victory which would result in re-born Poland. The French general, according to the deepest hopes of the Poles, was to reinstate it as an independent nation. Thousands and tens of thousands of patriots from all three portions of the divided country gathered in Western Europe, chiefly in Italy and France, where Polish Legions were formed, fighting under Napoleon’s command on all fronts and against the armies of the various anti-French coalitions.\(^11\)

According to Haiman, some Polish regiments, as a part of Napoleon’s army, were originally sent to quell a revolution in San Domingo. However, after the uprising, some Polish soldiers tried to enter the United States but were captured instead by the British Navy.\(^12\)

Poles in Haiti – Honorary Blacks and Black Poles

The Haitian Revolution ran from 1791–1804. Napoleon sent several of his legions to put
down the rebellion. Most of the French Legions which included two Polish brigades suffered huge losses due to tropical diseases. In 1804 the Black rebels of San Domingo proclaimed an independent country – Haiti.

Jean-Jacques Dessalines (20 September 1758-17 October 1806) was a leader of the Haitian Revolution and the first ruler of an independent Haiti under the 1801 constitution. Dessalines declared Haiti an all-black nation and forbade whites from owning property or land there.

No foreigner could own land. All loyal Haitians were now ‘noir’ or black even if European born. It is estimated that 150 Polish soldiers in Napoleon’s Legions which were sent to put down the uprising in Santo Domingo joined the side of the rebels. These defectors from the French force who joined Dessalines were accorded citizenship and were allowed to own property. In this way some of these Poles became Honorary Blacks.

One of the Polish Legion commanders was Władysław Franciszek Jabłonowski 1769–1802. He was of mixed ancestry - the illegitimate child of Maria Dealire (Delaine), an English aristocrat, and her black servant, which earned him the nickname "murzynek", which can be translated as ‘little Black,’ or ‘Blackie.’ He was adopted by the Polish nobleman Konstanty Jabłonowski. He attended Parisian École Royale Militaire, the same school attended by Napoleon. He fought during Tadeusz Kościuszko's uprising in 1794. He participated in battles at Szczekociny, Warsaw, Maciejowice, and at Praga (The same battle in which Francis De Rottenburg took part). In 1799 he was made General of Brigade of the Polish Legions. He was sent on his own request to Haiti in May 1802 (before the decision to send the rest of the Polish legions); Jablonowski died from yellow fever on September 29, 1802 in Jérémie, Haiti. He was also featured in a novel entitled Czarny General/Black General written by Waclaw Gąsiorowski and issued first in serial from in 1903.

In Europe, other Poles had also been taken prisoner by the British forces in Italy, especially at Santa Euphemia and even more were captured in Spain and placed into British prisons between the years of 1808 and 1812. The British gave the prisoners an alternative: join the British ranks and fight against the French (the Poles were on the French side), or remain in the British prisons. The conditions of the prisons were less than ideal and would have “resulted in almost certain death.” Historian S. Broeker wrote in his book Memoirs of the Spanish Wars that “our poor soldiers ... were thrown into the prisons...and then by starvation, they were forced to join the British Legions.”

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After the victory over Napoleon, many British troops were relocated to Canada to fight the American presence. In 1814, the British forces were divided into three expeditions; they were to attack the United States from three sides: the south, the east and the north.  

In the northern expedition in Canada, there were two regiments that were made up of former prisoners, including Poles: the De Watteville and the De Meuron regiments both named after their commanders. Both these “Swiss” regiments, in their beginnings, were certainly mercenary units, however, this does not signify however, that all the soldiers serving in them were to be regarded as mercenaries, as is usually the case in Canadian historical literature. As for the Poles, with whom we are concerned here, not one of them was a mercenary soldier. Imputing to them the status of professional soldiers, hired for pay in the service of a power which offers this pay, is the most unjust classification that could have met them on the part of historians not adequately informed as to the composition of the De Meuron and De Watteville regiments.

The De Meuron Regiment, created as a mercenary unit by the Swiss, Count De Meuron, was at first in Dutch service in India. It was bought by English agents on the island of Ceylon and passed to the side of the British who at this time were conducting a war against the Dutch. It never served under Napoleon's command, and, as a military formation was never captured by British Armies. It was stationed in Malta for a certain length of time and it was at this time that it picked up some Polish recruits as well as from many other European countries. The regiment was sent by the Duke of Wellington to Canada to take part in the defense of Canada and arrived in Canada in July 1813.

The De Watteville regiment had a less colourful history. Great Britain purchased it in 1801, and from that time on it served continually under the Union Jack. It was sent to Canada in 1813, along with the De Meuron regiment.

During their services in India and in Europe, both regiments had suffered great losses. Thus, prior to being sent to Canada, their troops were re-enforced by the enlistment of former Polish prisoners. Upon arrival in Quebec in 1813, the troops were immediately sent to the front. A considerable number deserted to the American side almost at once. This is not surprising since their loyalties still rested with the French who were allied with the United States against Great Britain. It must be noted that during the American Revolution, Poland’s sympathies were clearly with the Americans. For this reason Patriotic Poles, like Casimir Pulaski and Thaddeus Kosciusko joined the revolutionary forces. The American Constitution had a major influence on the forming of the Polish Constitution of the Third of May, 1791. These Polish pro-American sympathies were clearly still in effect during the War of 1812.

Thaddeus Kosciusko and the War of 1812

Thaddeus Kosciusko who had taken an active role in the American War of Independence returned to Europe in 1798 but he continued to take a great interest in American affairs and maintained a correspondence with Thomas Jefferson. In 1800, while still in Paris,
upon the request of the American Consul, Kosciusko “performed one more service to the United States. He gave the American artillery a set of regulations which won for him the title of the Father of American Artillery. These regulations are contained in a manual entitled *Manoeuvres of the Horse Artillery*… It played an important part in the American-British War of 1812-15, which was fought by the American artillery in accordance with rules laid down in Kosciuszko’s *Manoeuvres.*”¹⁹ This manual became the standard work at American military academies for many years.

By September, 1813, the De Watteville Regiment was assigned to the garrison in Kingston. Donald E. Graves writes that at this time Kingston was “held only by De Watteville’s Regiment, a foreign unit in British service composed of various nationalities and completely disaffected.”²⁰ Unfortunately Graves presents a description which negatively labels the regiment without explaining some of the causes of this disaffection.

**Battle of Châteauguay, 1813**

By October, 1813 the regimental headquarters were located at the Baker’s House on the Chateauguay River. The Battle of Châteauguay took place on October 26, 1813. For this campaign, Major-General Louis de Watteville took charge of the British forces, which included the De Watteville Regiment, along with Canadian forces of Lieutenant-Colonel Charles-Michel de d’Irumberry de Salaberry who was from an old French-Canadian aristocratic family and an officer in the British army. Along with Major-General Isaac Brock, he was one of only two heroes truly recognized as heroes for their part in the War of 1812. De Salaberry was created a Commander of the Bath on 1817 for his victory at Châteauguay.

The Battle of Châteauguay was recognized as a great victory for the British and Canadian forces. The De Watteville Regiment was part of the British forces. So even though the De Watteville Regiment was ‘disaffected’ from all reports it performed its duty well at the Battle of Châteauguay.

**The Battle of Oswego, 1814**

On May 5, 1814 men of the De Watteville Regiment participated in the British attack on the American base at Oswego, New York. Seventeen members of this company were reported wounded during the battle. British documents report that “the immediate command of the troops was entrusted to Lieutenant Colonel Fischer of the Regiment of De Watteville, of whose gallant cool, and judicious conduct, as well as the distinguished bravery, steadiness and discipline, I was a witness.”²¹ Again it appears that the members of the De Watteville Regiment performed well at the Battle of Oswego.

Lieutenant Joseph Mermet was a literary minded officer in De Watteville’s Regiment who took part in the attack on Oswego. In a letter he wrote:
Colonel Fischer, Adjutant Mermet, Surgeon Millet and six companies (each with seventy-five bayonets), will embark tomorrow in light marching order. It is unnecessary to recommend good order to men who have sworn to be faithful to the government they serve and whose laws they obey: honour and obedience are a soldier's guides.

We embarked on the 3rd under the orders of Colonel Fischer: 450 men of De Watteville's Regiment, 500, including officers and non-commissioned officers;

At six o'clock we ate amidst a confusion of shouts, whistles [and] a thousand God-damn[s]. "All hands, all Royal Marines upon deck, God-damn! All foreigners below; God-damn! Out and run; be quick, be quick!" At eight o'clock a storm suddenly blew up: "Very well now." The wind was from the northwest and the enemy coast was left behind. We cruised until four o'clock in the morning of the 6th [May 1814]. The wind blew from the southeast until nine and from the east at ten. The anchor was redropped before Oswego at eleven.

The [naval vessels] Princess Charlotte, the Wolfe and Royal George bombard the fort. The order to disembark is given. The enemy places two more guns in the battery. The[ir] fire is livelier. We are packed into the boats. The fifty men of the Glengarries and most of our light infantry are in a flat[-bottomed] batteau with twenty-four oars. Colonel Fischer, Mermet, De Bersy and his grenadiers, and the light infantry under V. May are in the Cleopatra, gun boat. (What an omen! I think of the battle of Actium). The artillery detachment and our centre companies, commanded by Major De Courten, are in reserve behind the large ships. We row. Three hundred Marines under the orders of Lieutenant-Colonel [James] Malcolm [of the Royal Marines] move with us. The brigs and schooners cover our landing [with gunfire].

Our losses: twenty killed and sixty wounded. [8 killed and 17 wounded for the Regiment de Watteville]

My friend V. May was mortally wounded while landing. The brave Captain Ledergerw was wounded on the glacis and, despite the loss of his finger and the pain caused by a severe wound he continued the charge with his company. Saying "Gentlemen, let us set the example," young De Bersy was the first to jump into the lake in order to reach the shore. Everyone did their duty with honour. The conduct of the officers and men of the 2nd Battalion Royal Marines was above praise. The merit of General Drummond, Commodore Yeo and Colonel Harvey cannot be described. What harmony! What coolness! What confidence! In addition, what order among the troops! What a success!

[Imagine] forty-two officers in a cabin, seated at their ease, .. babbling a Franco-Anglo-Italian patois (for all these naval officers have been around the world), and how they [talked] and how they listened, and how they sang -- and how they drank! "Gentlemen, a toast: Colonel Fischer and De Watteville's Regt. -- Colonel Malcolm and [the] 2d B[attalio]n. R[oya]l. Marines! Our success! Gen[era]l. Drummond! Sir James Yeo."
To summarize, the attack on Oswego was led by an officer of the De Watteville Regiment, the regiment suffered many lives lost and injuries, and was toasted at the end of the battle. It would appear that the Regiment again did its duty.

**From Kosciusko and Warsaw to Prevost and St. David’s**

Major-General Francis de Rottenburg (1757–1832) was born in Gdańsk in Poland to a Swiss family. His father was a prominent merchant and landowner of that city. He spent almost a decade in the French army which came to an end with the French Revolution, after which he returned to Poland. He took part in the uprising against foreign rule led by Tadeusz Kosciusko during which he commanded a battalion of infantry. In 1794 he was wounded at the battle in the defense of Praga against the Russians on the outskirts of Warsaw. In 1795, de Rottenburg joined the British army serving in Hompesch’s Hussars, a unit of foreign-born troops. He rose to the rank of lieutenant-colonel in the 5th Battalion of the 60th Regiment of Foot, the first rifle-armed unit of the British Army, commanding the unit during the Irish Rebellion of 1798 and the capture of Suriname in 1799.

De Rottenburg was sent to British North America prior to the War of 1812 and became a major-general in command of the Montreal district. Lieutenant-General Sir George Prevost, governor-in-chief and commander of British North America, appointed De Rottenburg as military commander and administrator of Upper Canada in 1813, after removing his predecessor, Roger Hale Sheaffe, who had succeeded Isaac Brock after his death at Queenston Heights. In July 1813, de Rottenburg assumed command, holding his headquarters at Twelve Creek, St. Catharines.

**Battle of Fort Erie, 1814**

The De Watteville Regiment also participated in the Battle of Fort Erie in August 1814. On July 29th, 1814 Lieutenant General Gordon Drummond’s forces were re-enforced by about 1,100 men of General De Watteville’s Regiment. Major General Louis De Watteville also joined Drummond to take over the day-to-day conduct of the siege of Fort Erie. Specifically, the De Watteville Regiment was given the task of taking the Towson battery on Snake Hill just west of Fort Erie.
Frederick Carsted writes that on August 15, 1814 the right column of the attack on Fort Erie included Lieutenant Colonel Victor Fisher of De Watteville’s regiment commanding 1,300 men drawn from companies of his own regiment and the 8th (King’s) plus the light companies of the 89th and the 100th Regiments. Their objective was the American battery at Snake Hill. De Watteville’s regiment was in the lead and, to ensure surprise, had been instructed to remove the flints from their muskets. They were met by a withering fire from the American defenders. Unable to return fire, the Swiss panicked. In their haste to get away, they threw the companies of the 8th and 89th into disorder … The assault had been a disaster. While Sir Gordon Drummond accepted responsibility for the failure, he attempted to shift most of the blame to the De Watteville’s Regiment. While the Swiss did break, the attack suffered generally from poor planning and inadequate siege artillery.”

Canadian journalist Pierre Berton in his typically cynical fashion wrote that “The bulk of the thousand-man force attacking the Towson battery is made up of soldiers from the de Watteville regiment, a foreign corps recruited twenty years before in Switzerland but shattered during the Peninsular campaign and now heavily interlaced with prisoners of war and deserters from Napoleon’s armies – French, German, Dutch, Italian, Polish and Portuguese … the motley foreign corps forms the majority.” Their commander is Lieutenant-Colonel Victor Fischer who was also severely injured in the attack on Fort Erie. The attack on the Towson battery fails with many casualties. “Gordon Drummond blames both the ‘misconduct of this foreign corps’, the de Watteville regiment, and the happenstance of the explosion for his misfortune.”

Donald E. Graves presents a more detailed account, parts of which are quoted bellow:

“Then at precisely 2 A.M., the right assault column under the command of Lieutenant Colonel Victor Fischer, consisting of elements of De Watteville’s regiment…were to attack the Snake Hill battery

The assault on Fort Erie went wrong from the outset. The demonstration force failed to reach its position in time and Fischers’s column, delayed by the rough terrain, arrived on its objective thirty minutes late.

The British [including the Poles] cut their way through the abatis, threw their scaling ladders against the Snake Hill battery and climbed up, only to find that the leaders were too short. A confused mass milled around the ditch of the battery, unable to fire because Fischer, on General Drummond’s advice, had removed his men’s flints from their muskets lest an accidental discharge give away the element of surprise. The results was that the Americans, “finding only cheers to oppose them, got on top of the parapet and shot the unarmed men…like so many sheep.” Even so, the British rallied and came on again, one account says as many as five times. Some of the more daring waded waist-deep into the lake around the end of the abatis but, being unsupported, had to wade back, still under fire. It was more than men could stand and Fischer’s column ran back into the night”
Gordon Drummond officially attributed the failure to the explosion but in a second, private letter, laid responsibility for the repulse on the ‘misconduct’ of De Watteville’s regiment. No mention was made of the inadequate scaling ladders, no mention was made of the removal of men’s flints, and no mention was made of the tardy movements of troops who were to demonstrate and distract the defenders … Prevost did not totally accept his subordinate’s attempt to shift the blame and chided him that ‘too much was expected from De Watteville’s regiment so situated and deprived, as I am told they were of their flints”, an innovation that had “proved a costly experiment.”

British documents of the time present a balanced view stating that “The defeat was freely attributed to the Watteville foreigners, who, though with a good previous reputation, turned and fled when they found themselves discovered and fired upon. But there is this to be said in their favour, that, having no flints handy, they could not reply to a fire which cut them down while they were massed together in very close order at a decisive range.”

It is also clear that Fort Erie was well fortified and was no easy target for such an attack. One British officer is quoted as describing the fort as an “ugly customer”.

An American officer in recalling the battle wrote “The British thought to surprise us, as they did our troops at Fort Niagara…but we were ready for them by God, we were ready; a full third of the garrison was on duty and the rest sleeping by our guns with the dark lanterns lit and the cannon charged so full of grapeshot you could reach in the muzzle and touch the last wad by hand.”

When the De Watteville Regiment and other British forces reached the Towson battery on Snake Hill the Americans were ready and the six six-pound guns and the muskets of four infantry companies fired at them when they charged up the slope. The surprise attack turned into a slaughter and as one American participant recalled “By the time it was all over, the Second
Artillery was just exhausted – we dropped beside our guns, every muscle aching from the chore of loading, firing, loading again. At day-break, we could see the bodies piled high in front of our guns. Corpses floated down the Niagara for hours.”

Following this night assault, the De Watteville Regiment continued to play a role in the Battle of Fort Erie. According to Cruikshank, “On the morning of the 17th … Porter’s columns advanced and pushed a line of breastworks held by the Regiment De Watteville … many of them were quickly shot down or taken prisoner and the remainder dispersed.” Lieut-Colonel Fischer and twelve other officers were wounded, including Major De Villatte who was one of the officers who led the De Watteville light company in the night assault. Later in October, “Major-General De Watteville, who was put in command of all the troops on the south side of Chippawa Creek, made his headquarters at Gonder’s house, one mile below Black Creek.”

Whatever the correct assessment is of the role of the De Watteville Regiment in the Battle of Fort Erie, there is no doubt that a good number of Poles, fighting for a cause that was not their own, died in the assault and many of them went beyond the call of duty. Any force that renewed their attack from three to five times under the circumstances described here cannot be accused of duty, although they were. A list of some of the Poles who died at the Battle of Fort Erie is included in Appendix A.

The bodies of the British and Polish casualties were buried in mass graves.

The “Pro Patria” monument at Fort Erie; the site of a mass grave of British soldiers, including members of the De Watteville Regiment
So what do we know about the men who fought at Fort Erie and in particular the Poles? Very little. We know that they were young men, although possibly not as young as some of their British colleagues, since most of them had already seen service in Napoleon’s Legions, been captured, spent time in military prisons, before they were assigned to the De Watteville Regiment and shipped to Canada. As soldiers they would often been hungry but when available they would have eaten salt pork, hard bread, a few vegetables (often combined in a soup or stew), molasses, salt, vinegar and better supplies of rum, whisky or brandy. The men would have tended to cook their own food over open fires. Their diet was very poor and they were often plagued with illness, including scurvy. The bones of soldiers buried at Snake Hill and examined in the late 1980s showed evidence of extreme and prolonged nutritional deprivation, especially the consequences of not eating enough vegetables.\(^35\)

Sanitation was also very poor. Washing was not common. Clothes, chamber pots and cooking instruments were shared. Fevers, intestinal diseases, typhus and cholera were common. Living under the elements, including wet and cold weather, made rheumatism a common complaint.

Following the Battle of Fort Erie the De Watteville Regiment was based at Fort George until disbanded in 1816. Part of a letter from Lord Bathurst at the time reads as follows:

“communicate to you the intention of His Majesty’s Government to grant at the close of the War to the Officers and Men of Meuron’s and Watteville’s Reg proportionate quantities of lands on those parts of the Frontiers of Lower Canada which may be most exposed to attack … the Grenadier Company of De Watteville’s Reg have been particularly distinguished for the firmness with which when Prisoners they resisted the Offers made to them by the Enemy.” Again in language similar to that in the letter from Oswego, there seems to be a mixed response to the role played by the De Watteville Regiment. In this letter they are praised for their service.

The veterans of this regiment were given land (100 acres) along the St. Francis River in Quebec and the Rideau River in Ontario although many of the Polish veterans returned to Europe and some left for the Dakotas. Some also went on to Fort William and then on to the Selkirk Colony in Manitoba as will be documented later in this paper.

**The Plattsburgh Campaign, 1814**

The other ‘Swiss Regiment’ that is the De Meuron Regiment, which included a few Poles was engaged near Montreal during the War of 1812. The De Meuron regiment was given the task of defending the Richelieu River Valley. The Richelieu flows from Lake Champlain and empties into the Saint Lawrence River. There were numerous forts, built by the Canadians, along the course of the Richelieu. Fort William Henry was at the mouth on the Saint Lawrence, as well as Forts Chambly, Saint Jean and Ile-au-Noix (Fort Lennox), built on the island in the middle of the river.
The De Meuron Regiment took part in the Plattsburgh Campaign in September, 1814. There is some controversy around their involvement in the Plattsburgh Campaign. According to a web-based dialogue on the Plattsburgh Campaign there were a significant number of desertions from the British forces. According to this source there were 74 desertions from the De Meuron Regiment. It should be noted that there were desertions from all the units involved in the campaign on both sides of the struggle. As has already been noted, desertions by Poles were to be expected as they were mainly prisoners of war whose loyalties often belonged to the opposing side. However, interestingly enough, there appears to have been some contention between Governor-General George Prevost and the foreigner soldiers. According to this version, Prevost criticized the differently dressed men and issued a dress code that was made mandatory for everyone. Needless to say, many of the men resented Prevost's attitude and favouritism towards French-Canadians. This could be part of the reason why so many of De Meuron's men deserted.\endnote{36}

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\textbf{Prevost and Pulaski}
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Lieutenant-General Sir George Prevost, Governor-General and Commander-in-Chief of British North America, who did not seem to like foreigners serving the British army and maybe Poles in particular, was the son of Swiss-born, Major-General Augustine Prevost, who joined British service.

On May 14, 1779 General Augustine Prevost had convinced the Revolutionary authorities in Charleston, South Carolina to surrender to his advancing British forces which had laid siege to the city. Count Casimir Pulaski and the Pulaski Legion arrived at Charleston on the same day. Pulaski intervened and convinced Charleston not to surrender, but rather to fight. Pulaski organized a number of forays out of Charleston which was encircled by the British, and although the Legion suffered serious losses, the British under Prevost subsequently withdrew. Pulaski went on to become the father of the American cavalry. Whether this defeat of the senior Prevost by the Pole Pulaski had any effect on the attitude of Sir George Prevost towards Poles is unknown but it is interesting to speculate.

To be fair, Sir George Prevost was the first to nominate Canadians to the Legislative Council of Canada. In 1811 one of his nominees included Pierre-Dominique Debartzch the son of Dominicus Bartzsch who was born in Gdansk, Poland and was one of the first Polish settlers in Canada. Pierre-Dominique Debartzch commanded a company at the Battle of Chateauguay and was cited for bravery in one of the dispatches following the battle.
\end{quote}

Plattsburg was the last major battle of the eastern campaign. It was the sole important engagement of the Regiment De Meuron in the war of 1812. In 1816, the De Meuron regiment was disbanded and the following offer was made to the soldiers: "The officers, non-commissioned officers and soldiers that desire can settle in Canada, at the Colony of Rideau by Saint-Thomas. With grants allocations of land: 1,200 acres for the lieutenant-colonel, 1,000 for a
major, 600 for a captain, 200 for a sergeant and 100 for a soldier, with two months of wages as gratitude."

This offer was taken up by 343 officers, non-commissioned officers and soldiers. An additional seventy-nine wives and about thirty children were also added to the Regiments roster, possibly brought over from Europe to join their husbands in Canada. Among the officers, to resign their commissions were Captains Francois-Louis Bourgeois, Frederic Matthey, Protai d'Odet d'Orsonnens, and Lieutenants Frederic de Graffenried, Gustave-Adolphe Fauche, Joseph Wittmer, Williams Robins, Thomas Leonard, Charles-Duncan Napier and Stanislas Schultz. The obvious question for us is was Stanislas Schultz Polish? It is possible but we don’t know.

**Seilkirk and the Red River**

The De Meuron Regiment does not appear in history again until we see some members of the unit arriving at Fort William at Thunder Bay (Ontario) where it has entered into the history of the fur trade in that area.

Just how many Poles served in the De Watteville and De Meuron Regiments and what happened to them after the conclusion of the War of 1812? According to one source, there were eleven Poles serving in the De Meuron Regiment and 529 in that of De Watteville.\(^{37}\) Thus we see that there were very few actual Polish De Meurons in Canada. There were considerably more Poles in the second Swiss unit, the De Watteville regiment. Haiman states that his list of 529 names does not include all the Poles who found themselves in Canada in the ranks of this unit. By comparing the number of Polish soldiers serving in both Swiss units in Canada, the explanation can be found why these men, who participated in Lord Selkirk's expedition to the Red River Colony, originated only from the De Watteville regiment.\(^{38}\)

After the War of 1812 both units were disbanded and the soldiers of these two regiments each received a grant of land. Lord Bathurst, the Secretary of State for War and the Colonies, suggested in his letter to the Governor-General of Canada that because, the de Watteville Regiment had especially distinguished itself, its men should be given the best lands and that everything possible should be done to bring their wives and families to Canada. Each soldier received one hundred acres of land, as well as some additional help in the beginning.\(^{39}\)

The moment of demobilization of the soldiers of both Swiss regiments at the end of the war in 1816, directs our attention to Lord Selkirk who, while staying in Montreal at this time and planning his expedition to the region of the present Manitoba, was impatiently waiting to choose from among the veterans of these units, companions for his perilous journey. Strained, and even hostile, relations between the Hudson's Bay Company and the colony established by Selkirk and the enterprising and unscrupulous North Western Fur Company demanded caution and led the founder of the Red River Colony to provide the expedition with a strong escort of a semi-military character. Lord Selkirk found candidates for this escort among officers of the Swiss mercenary units and used them as his recruiting agents, to engage the non-commissioned officers and
privates of the Glengarry Fancibles regiment, as well as of those of De Meuron and DeWatteville. Collectively these men became known as ‘De Meurons’.

A group from de Meuron's approaching Fort William by bateau. On their way to the Red River Colony, in 1816, the soldier/settlers were ordered by Lord Selkirk to seize Fort William and assist the Constable John McNabb in arresting the partners of the North West Company for conspiracy.

But even at this moment, Lord Selkirk did not cease to be a great colonizer. He did not forget that what he needed most for the safety and future development of the threatened colony were people - settlers who would develop and strengthen the great enterprise on the banks of the Red River. For this reason Lord Selkirk recommended to his agents that these veterans be engaged not only in an escort capacity, but also as future settlers, as farmers who could populate the lands of the present Manitoba and put them under cultivation. First and foremost Selkirk was trying to secure settlers, and only then did he wish to have these people as soldiers, to ensure the safety of his expedition. This finding, which in the light of documents examined by us seems indisputable, at least so far as the Poles in Selkirk's service are concerned, is valuable and important. Canadian historians have emphasized only the escort character of the ‘De Meuron’ soldiers in the Red River Colony and underestimated to a considerable extent the importance which the founder of this colony attached to these people as future settlers.

Documents found in the Lord Selkirk Papers allow us to state that Lord Selkirk's Chief objective, at least in so far as the Polish soldiers were concerned, was to secure in these possibly the most valuable farmers who were to remain permanently in the new colony, after performing their temporary role as a military escort. In his valuable book about the beginnings of settlement in Assiniboia, Archer Martin quotes evidence confirming the extreme care Lord Selkirk exercised so that the veterans engaged would be efficient settlers: he was very particular in the selection of these people "as none but those of the best character and who knew some of the requisite and useful trades for the settlement would be accepted."

This agricultural, colonising character of the Polish soldiers engaged by Lord Selkirk finds its surest support in those, unfortunately incomplete, documents to be found in the Lord Selkirk Papers which deal with a grandiose plan of Polish settlement, which Lord Selkirk wanted to see realized with the assistance of one of the few Polish non-commissioned officers of the De
Watteville regiment, a certain Corporal Philip Koloshinski, who is known from the regimental list published by Haiman. Koloshinski was a Polish soldier serving in the above mentioned regiment from the year 1811. Lord Selkirk, on learning of the influence of this non-commissioned officer among the Polish soldiers of the De Watteville regiment stationed in Kingston, as well as of his personal integrity, made great efforts to recruit, with his aid, the largest possible number of Poles for farm settlement in the Red River Colony.43

He did not put any limits as to the number of Poles who might settle on the terrain of present Manitoba. He wanted as many of them as possible, on the condition however, that they would fit the requirements of good farm settlement. That the bold plans of Lord Selkirk were going far beyond the immediate needs of the escort for the prepared expedition is seen clearly from the fact that he suggested the engagement of Poles, even if they could not come out to Red River in 1816. He foresaw that they could come out in the following year.44 On June 4th, 1816, the so-called De Meurons left Montreal for Kingston.

In order to encourage them to settle in the Red River Colony, Lord Selkirk ordered his agents to offer them exceptional conditions. As for Corporal Koloshinski, Lord Selkirk was willing to assure him of unusually high financial rewards and an exceptionally large parcel of land, even a township, as he himself wrote in his letter to Captain Steiger of 23/6/1816. To other Polish soldiers he was prepared to allot land under better conditions than those which they were to receive for their military service from the British government.45

Unfortunately, as we know, not much resulted from Lord Selkirk's plans for the settlement of Poles in Manitoba. Why? This we don't know, because of lack of adequate information in the documents. Co-operation with Koloshinski did not bring fruits. He himself probably did not take advantage of His Lordship's attractive proposition. From the De Watteville regiment, on which Lord Selkirk was counting for Polish soldiers, only about twenty veterans could be recruited for escort purposes. We also do not know exactly how many of them were Polish ex-soldiers. Incomplete materials allow us to establish, however, that not less than ten Poles arrived with Selkirk in the year 1817, on the Red River and that they settled here under conditions offered them by the founder of the colony.46

It must be added that the difficulties connected with the establishing of the number of these first Polish immigrants in Western Canada are due not only to the incompleteness of the primary sources of information, but also by the incredible misspelling of Polish names in both English and French documents. Having at our disposal, on the one hand, the list of Polish soldiers published by Haiman, including the names already mutilated to a great extent by British military authorities, we find further disfigurations in Canadian documents concerning the presence of Polish soldiers in Manitoba. For this reason the enumeration of Polish names, which we shall give in a moment cannot be considered as complete or their spelling and pronunciation as accurate.47
Everything indicates that from the De Meuron regiment, in which only a few Poles served, no Polish soldier left for the Red River, yet we are not completely certain about this, and M. Haiman does not rule out such a possibility. Other Polish authors writing on the presence of Polish settlers in the Red River Colony either did not give due weight to the question of membership of these settlers in one or other of the Swiss regiments, or stated incorrectly that they came from the De Meuron regiment. According to Victor Turek, the names which have been identified as Polish correspond with the names of the Poles coming from the De Watteville regiment.48

The documents in which we can find hints about the Poles in this regiment are in the already mentioned Lord Selkirk Papers and further in the Bulger Papers, the originals of which are kept in the Library and Archives Canada in Ottawa. What is more, we find the names of Poles in the Agreement of September 2, 1817, concluded in Fort Douglas between Lord Selkirk and certain soldiers from the De Meuron, De Watteville and Glengarry regiments, the original of which is in the possession of the Hudson's Bay Company in Winnipeg. All the documents mentioned here should naturally be compared with the lists of Polish soldiers published by Haiman, as well as with the lists of the first settlers of the Red River Colony included in the population censuses.49

From an analysis of all these documents, and considering the possibility of errors in the spelling of individual names, Turek states, that in 1817, the following Poles arrived in the territory of present day Manitoba:

(1) Michel Bardowicz (or Bardavitsch, or Bartavitche, or Borokovitz),
(2) Pierre Gandrosky (or Candrofsky, or Komdrowski, or Anderoski, or Ganderoski),
(3) Andrew Jankofsky (or Jankoskey, or Ankoski, or Jankosky, or even Sankofsky),
(4) Michael Kaminsky (or Kannicky, or Caminsky),
(5) Martin Kralich (or Kraluk, or Kralic, or even Garlic, or Crallig),
(6) Woitchech Lasotta (or Lassota),
(7) Laurent Quilesky (or Quiletzky, or Quilecki, or Wilefsky),
(8) John Wasilofski (or Wasilowsky, or even Wasilovhokay),
(9) Michel Isaak (or Isac, or Isack, or Isak),
(10) Antoine Sabatzky50 [See appendix B for another list]

As to the first eight names enumerated above, there is no doubt that they belonged to Poles, who at one time found themselves in the De Watteville unit, because these names, or their equivalents, are found in the regimental list published by Haiman. As to the ninth name, that of Michel Isaak, his Polish origin is clearly indicated by data included in the population censuses for the years 1832 and 1833, where he is listed as a resident of Red River, a Pole and a Catholic. The fact that this name is not noted by the list published by Haiman, was probably caused by some striking disfiguration of its spelling which, in the form we find it in the documents referred to, sounds rather un-Polish. Similar misspelling must explain the circumstance that the list of soldiers from the De Watteville unit published by Haiman does not include also the last name
enumerated above. The spelling of this name, even in its probably deformed shape, leaves no
doubt that it belonged to a Pole.\textsuperscript{51}

Another source, \textit{Almanach Tygodnika Czas} prepared by Father Mieczyslaw Szwej, reports that
in the Red River Census Books the following Polish names also appear: Fiołkowski, Forabowski, Janczkowski, Kaski and many more.\textsuperscript{52} Apparently Andrzej Jankowski in 1838 had four
daughters. This begs the question as to who these Polish veterans of the War of 1812 married,
since they did not travel with any Polish women. It was common for the men of the Red River
settlements to take Indian wives.

Turek collected data containing information about these Poles who remained in the Red River
Colony, after 1826, from archival materials covering the population censuses of this colony
housed in the provincial archives of Manitoba. Thus, chronologically, the first of the population
censuses conducted in 1832, states that in this year there were still living in Manitoba, M.
Bardowicz, P. Gandrosky, A. Jankofsky, M. Isaak and finally also a Pole disguised under the
name of J. Meron. Together with their families, this small group of Poles numbered 14, or maybe
21 persons. Gradually, however, the number of Poles listed in succeeding population censuses
decreases. In the population census of 1833, there are still 4 or 5 Poles noted, but in the censuses
for the years 1838 and 1840, only two or maybe three, i.e., Gandroski, Yankofsky and possibly
also Meron. In the population census for the year 1843, we find mention only of Yankofsky or
also of Meron and of Isaak's orphaned family. The population census of 1846-47 mentions only
Isaak's family, while the last population census for the Red River Colony of 1849 notes the
presence of only J. Meron's family.\textsuperscript{53}

The question of what happened to those Poles in Manitoba who remained here after 1826, and
whom the subsequent population figures do not mention, opens a wide field of conjectures.
Similarly open is the question concerning the fate of those whose presence in the Red River
Colony was proved by the last population censuses, but of whom we have no longer precise
information. Undoubtedly, certain of these Polish soldiers died on the soil of Manitoba, as for
example, M. Isaak, while others could have moved to other parts of Canada. The possibility that
a number of them could have emigrated south of the border is not excluded.\textsuperscript{54}

\begin{table}[h]
\centering
\begin{tabular}{|l|}
\hline
\textbf{Polish Metis} \\
\hline
A search of the Metis National Council Historical Online Database does not yield any Polish
surnames. However, it does yield quite a few first names of Stanislas which is the French
spelling for a very popular Polish name. There are even a few ‘Stanilaw’ and ‘Stanislaus’
which comes closer to the Polish spelling. Here are a few interesting examples. Stanislas
Lariviére was born in 1872 in De Salaberry A3 near Provencher, Manitoba. He is described as
Cree Metis Francaise and Roman Catholic. The interesting connection is that he was born in a
place named after one of the heroes of the War of 1812 - Lieutenant-Colonel Michael de
\hline
\end{tabular}
\end{table}
Salaberry, under whom some of the Polish soldiers served.

Stanislas Desjarlis was born in 1826 in Posen G2 in the Selkirk District, Manitoba. He is described as Chippewa French Breed and Roman Catholic. The interesting connections here are that he was born in Posen, the German name for a Polish city – Poznań, in Selkirk, named after the founder of the Selkirk Colony and the one who brought the Polish soldiers to Manitoba. He was also Roman Catholic and were most Poles. All this may be coincidental and romanticized. So be it!

A few years ago OMNI television broadcast the film “And Who Are You?” which examines the complex sense of identity of many Canadians, through the experience of four Canadians who share a Polish ancestral connection. One character is of mixed Polish and Canadian Métis heritage, and being Métis is far more important to her. Professionally, she is an aboriginal rights lawyer. Early in life, however, she was a dancer, and had been inspired by a Polish dance troupe she saw as a child. Again, it is good to contemplate the possibility that those Polish freedom fighters of 1812 survived through a Metis connection to continue the fight for Metis rights.

**Conclusion**

So what can we conclude from all this? What is clear is that a significant number of Poles served in units engaged in the War of 1812. Many also gave their lives during that war. They fought for a cause that was not theirs. When the opportunity arose some of the Polish soldiers settled in what are now Ontario and Quebec and some made their way into the United States. A small number made their way west to Manitoba. What is also clear is that these early Polish immigrants to Canada have been largely forgotten and this paper is dedicated to their almost vanished memory.
## Appendix A: Some of the Poles who died while serving with the De Watteville Regiment

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Rank</th>
<th>Unit</th>
<th>Country of Origin</th>
<th>Status</th>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Date</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Jean Beskluby</td>
<td>Private</td>
<td>2 - Grenadiers</td>
<td>Poland</td>
<td>Killed</td>
<td>Fort Erie</td>
<td>08 15 1814</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jean Fabik</td>
<td>Private</td>
<td>2 - Grenadiers</td>
<td>Poland</td>
<td>Killed</td>
<td>Fort Erie</td>
<td>08 15 1814</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vasil Feltroff</td>
<td>Private</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>Poland</td>
<td>Killed</td>
<td>Fort Erie Sortie</td>
<td>09 17 1814</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wortschek Fornalezek</td>
<td>Private</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Poland</td>
<td>Killed</td>
<td>Fort Erie Assault</td>
<td>08 15 1814</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Simon Gletz</td>
<td>Private</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>Poland</td>
<td>Died</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>09 18 1814</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vasil Hernek</td>
<td>Private</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>Poland</td>
<td>Killed</td>
<td>Fort Erie Sortie</td>
<td>09 17 1814</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Francis Kowalsky</td>
<td>Private</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>Missing</td>
<td>Fort Erie Assault</td>
<td>08 15 1814</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Johan Kulawsky</td>
<td>Private</td>
<td>2 - Grenadiers</td>
<td>Poland</td>
<td>Killed</td>
<td>Fort Erie Assault</td>
<td>08 15 1814</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conrad Kurtz</td>
<td>Private</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>Killed</td>
<td>Fort Erie Sortie</td>
<td>09 17 1814</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pierre Lucca</td>
<td>Private</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>Poland</td>
<td>Died</td>
<td>Fort Erie Assault</td>
<td>08 16 1814</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Joseph Mantel</td>
<td>Private</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>Poland</td>
<td>Killed</td>
<td>Fort Erie Sortie</td>
<td>09 17 1814</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jacob Martin</td>
<td>Private</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>Poland</td>
<td>Killed</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>09 20 1814</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Name</td>
<td>Rank</td>
<td>Age</td>
<td>Nationality</td>
<td>Status</td>
<td>Location</td>
<td>Date</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------------------</td>
<td>---------------</td>
<td>-----</td>
<td>-------------</td>
<td>--------</td>
<td>----------</td>
<td>-----------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Francis Michaels</td>
<td>Private</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>Poland</td>
<td>Killed</td>
<td>Fort Erie</td>
<td>08 15 1814</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Basil Nikorsky</td>
<td>Sergeant</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>Poland</td>
<td>Killed</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>08 12 1814</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Johan Schenikovsky</td>
<td>Private</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Grenadiers</td>
<td>Poland</td>
<td>Killed</td>
<td>Fort Erie</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Joseph Schuriversky</td>
<td>Private</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>Poland</td>
<td>Killed</td>
<td>Fort Erie</td>
<td>09 17 1814</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Valentin Skurch</td>
<td>Private</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>Chasseurs</td>
<td>Poland</td>
<td>Killed</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gasparde Wabonsky</td>
<td>Private</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Poland</td>
<td>Killed</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>08 31 1814</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jean Wasetriz</td>
<td>Private</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>Poland</td>
<td>Killed</td>
<td>Fort Erie</td>
<td>09 17 1814</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nicolas Wischnofsky</td>
<td>Private</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>Poland</td>
<td>Killed</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>09 02 1814</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Appendix B: First Poles in Manitoba**

A plaque was erected in Manitoba in conjunction with the centennial of the province of Manitoba. The plaque reads as follows:

In Commemoration of the First Poles in the Red River Settlement 1817/ Cette Dedication est pour Commemorer Les Premiers Polonais de la Riviere Rouge et des Environs en 1897

Michael Bardowicz
Pierre Gandrowski
Andrew Jankowski
Michael Kaminski
Martin Kralich
Wojciech Lasota
Laurent Kwileski
John Wasilowski
Michael Isaac
Antoine Sabacki

Erected by the Association of Polish Priests in Manitoba, June 1971
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The Polish War Cemetery in Monte Cassino, Italy, with over 1,000 graves of Polish soldiers includes the nineteenth century Polish slogan “For Our Freedom and Yours”.

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Le Couteur, 14 August 1814. Journal of Colonel Sir John Le Couteur, Societe jersiaise, St. Helier, 1813

Some writers identify these ‘more daring’ as being foreign members of the De Watteville regiment

This account of Fischer’s attack is based primarily on Le Couteur, 15 August 1814 and United States National Archives, RG 153, Box 17, Court Martial of General Gaines, 84-92, evidence of General Ripley.

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